

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 180520

EXDIS MILITARY ADDEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE, SECDEF FROM TOKYO JULY 28:

QUOTE S E C R E T TOKYO 11360

EXDIS

STATE FOR EA GLEYSTEN; DEFENSE FOR ISA-ADM HILTON

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, KS, US, JA

SUBJECT: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMO OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
BROWN'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA, JULY 27,
1977.

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2. PM FUKUDA OPENED CONVERSATION BY ASKING SECDEF HOW
HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH ROKG LEADERS HAD GONE. SECDEF
REPLIED THAT HE FELT BOTH HIS DETAILED DISCUSSIONS
WITH ROK MINDEF SUH AND HIS MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT PARK HAD GONE VERY WELL. IT WAS HIS
IMPRESSION THAT ROKG LEADERS HAVE COME TO ACCEPT
THE NOTION THAT U.S. GROUND FORCES CAN BE WITHDRAWN
AND THE SECURITY OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA PRESERVED
PROVIDED ROK DEFENSE CAPABILITIES ARE STRENGTHENED
THROUGH JOINT U.S.-. ROK EFFORTS. THE SECRETARY NOTED

THAT OF COURSE THE ROKG WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL NOT BE UNDERTAKEN, BUT IN HIS VIEW THEY HAVE COME TO BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BECAUSE THE U.S. REMAINS FULLY COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY OF THE ROK. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED, THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT PARK, WHICH HE HAD DELIVERED, HAD BEEN MOST HELPFUL SINCE IT CONTAINED EXPLICIT REAFFIRMATION OF THAT COMMITMENT.

3. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INTERESTED IN SUCH DETAILS CONCERNING THE PHASING OF THE WITHDRAWAL AS HAD BEEN INDICATED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE U.S.-ROK SCM AND ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY COULD PROVIDE ANY ELABORATION ON THIS POINT. IT WAS THE PRIME MINISTER'S IMPRESSION THAT FOLLOWING THE FIRST PHASE WITHDRAWAL OF 6,000 MEN, THE BALANCE OF THE GROUND FORCE WOULD REMAIN UNTIL THE PULL-OUT OF THE SECOND DIVISION HEADQUARTERS. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT APPROXIMATELY ONE-HALF OF THE FIRST PHASE 6,000 MAN WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE FROM THE SECOND DIVISION AND THE REMAINDER FROM NON-DIVISIONAL ELEMENTS. THE SECOND DIVISION HEADQUARTERS
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TOGETHER WITH TWO BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS AND THE BULK OF THE COMPLEMENT OF THOSE BRIGADES WOULD REMAIN UNTIL THE FINAL PHASE SOMETIME IN 1981 OR 1982. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT EXCEPT FOR THIS RETENTION OF THE SECOND DIVISION HEADQUARTERS AND TWO BRIGADES UNTIL THE FINAL PHASE, DETAILS HAVE NOT BEEN WORKED OUT CONCERNING THE SECOND STAGE WITHDRAWAL. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SECRETARY SAID, IT IS PLANNED TO QUOTE BACKLOAD UNQUOTE THE WITHDRAWAL WITH THE RESULT THAT EVEN AFTER THE SECOND STAGE, WHICH HE EXPLAINED MIGHT COME ABOUT ONE-AND-A-HALF YEARS AFTER THE FIRST, THE BULK OF THE GROUND FORCE COMBAT CAPABILITY WILL REMAIN IN KOREA UNTIL THE FINAL STAGE. THE SECRETARY CAUTIONED THAT THESE DETAILS HAD NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC AND SHOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED WHETHER THE ROKG IS SATISFIED WITH THIS PLAN. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH DETAILS REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT, HE BELIEVED THE ROKG IS SATISFIED WITH THE PLAN TO COMPLETE THE FIRST PHASE WITHDRAWAL BY THE END OF 1978 AND TO LEAVE THE SECOND DIVISION HEADQUARTERS AND TWO BRIGADES UNTIL THE FINAL PHASE, AND HE NOTED THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THIS ASPECT OF THE PLAN. HE FELT THAT THE ROKG BELIEVES THAT THE BROAD OUTLINE OF THE WITHDRAWAL PLAN IS A REASONABLE WAY TO PROCEED PROVIDED CONTEMPLATED TRANSFERS AND PURCHASES OF EQUIPMENT CAN BE REALIZED.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE BULK OF THE EQUIPMENT TRANSFERS MUST BE PURCHASED BY THE ROK OVER AND ABOVE ITS FIVE YEAR FORCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM AND THAT IT WILL BE OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE ROK BE ABLE TO HANDLE SUCH PURCHASES FINANCIALLY. THIS WILL CREATE AN INCREASED NEED FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SECRETARY STRESSED, JAPAN CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN TERMS OF INVESTMENT AND A LIBERAL TRADE POLICY WHICH WILL ALLOW THE ROK TO EARN
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FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

5. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED ABOUT PLANS FOR THE REDEPLOYMENT OF THE SECOND DIVISION. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT PRESENT THINKING IS TO RETURN THE SECOND DIVISION TO CONUS TO FORM PART OF A CENTRAL RESERVE FOR USE IN MEETING EMERGENCY SITUATIONS WHEREVER THESE MAY ARISE. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE NOT YET AT A POINT WHERE A FINAL DECISION MUST BE MADE ON THIS QUESTION AND ASKED THAT HIS REMARKS IN THIS REGARD ALSO BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT HE WAS PLEASED AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE ROK ON THE BASIC DIRECTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL PLAN AND HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SECRETARY'S CONSIDERATION IN BRIEFING THE GOJ ON THE DETAILS. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE REGARD OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOJ TO BE A VERY IMPORTANT PART OF THIS PROCESS AND SOLICITED THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMENTS OR ADVICE AS TO THE MANNER IN WHICH WE ARE PROCEEDING GIVEN THE BASIC DECISION TO WITHDRAW. THE SECRETARY OFFERED TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT CARTER ANY COMMENTS WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT HAVE. THE PRIME MINISTER REITERATED HIS SATISFACTION THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH THE ROK ON THE QUOTE BASIC DIRECTION UNQUOTE. CONCERNING PLANNING FOR WITHDRAWALS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND FINAL STAGES, THE PRIME MINISTER EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE USG WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND CARRY ON SUBSEQUENT WITHDRAWALS SO THAT STABILITY WILL NOT BE ENDANGERED AND IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ROK. HE ADDED THAT THE GOJ ALSO WILL WATCH THE
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SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA CAREFULLY. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT IF ANY OTHER THOUGHTS OCCURRED TO HIM, HE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT SECURITY ON THE

KOREAN PENINSULA INVOLVES MORE THAN MILITARY QUESTIONS ALTHOUGH THESE ARE VERY IMPORTANT. HE NOTED THAT THE INTERESTS OF JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION, THE PRC AND THE U.S. ALL CONVERGE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA IN AN IMPORTANT WAY. IN HIS VIEW, EACH OF THESE POWERS WISHES PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA TO BE PRESERVED. SO LONG AS THAT REMAINS THE CASE, HE BELIEVED WE CAN PROCEED SUCCESSFULLY WITH OUR WITHDRAWAL PROGRAM.

7. THE PRIME MINISTER OBSERVED THAT THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA ALSO HAVE A KEEN INTEREST IN THE UNDERTAKING OF GROUND FORCE WITHDRAWAL AND ARE CONCERNED LEST THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA BE DESTABILIZED AS A RESULT. HE RECALLED THAT AT THE REQUEST OF SEVERAL LEADERS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES, HE HAD CONVEYED SUCH CONCERN TO PRESIDENT CARTER DURING THEIR MEETING LAST MARCH. THESE LEADERS, HE ADDED, HAVE BEEN INCLINING TO SPECULATE WHETHER THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA WILL EVOLVE IN A MANNER SIMILAR TO THAT IN VIETNAM FOLLOWING THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES. HE NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH ASEAN LEADERS SHORTLY AND ASKED WHETHER HE MIGHT ASSURE THEM THAT THE U.S. AND ROK HAVE REACHED A BASICALLY SATISFACTORY FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT ON GROUND FORCE WITHDRAWAL. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE SPEAKS FOR ITSELF ON THIS POINT. MUCH DETAILED PLANNING REMAINS AND THE ADMINISTRATION MUST CONSULT WITH CONGRESS AND SEEK ITS APPROVAL FOR THE SALE OF CERTAIN EQUIPMENT TO THE ROK. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION BY ITS DECLARATORY STATEMENTS AND ITS ACTIONS IS MAKING CLEAR THAT THE U.S. IS AND INTENDS TO REMAIN A STRONG POWER IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC, MILITARILY AS WELL
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AS POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. HE NOTED THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN STRONG MILITARY POWER IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. SPECIFICALLY, THERE WILL BE AUGMENTATION OF U.S. AIR POWER IN KOREA; THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN OUR DEPLOYMENT OF MARINES AND AIR FORCE ELEMENTS IN JAPAN; WE WILL MAINTAIN A BASE STRUCTURE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN 7TH FLEET DEPLOYMENTS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC; AND WE RETAIN A STRONG AIR FORCE BASING CAPABILITY IN GUAM. HE NOTED THAT THE SECOND DIVISION HAS STRONG SYMBOLIC MEANING AND THEREFORE WITHDRAWAL IS BEING UNDERTAKEN GRADUALLY IN THE BELIEF THAT THE ROK BY ITS OWN EFFORTS AND WITH U.S. HELP CAN ADD SUFFICIENT CAPABILITY ON THE GROUND TO PRESERVE THE MILITARY BALANCE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

8. THE PRIME MINISTER PICKED UP THE SECRETARY'S REFERENCE TO PHILIPPINE BASING AND ASKED HOW THOSE NEGOTIATIONS ARE PROCEEDING. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT NEITHER SIDE

SEEMS IN ANY HURRY TO COMPLETE DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS AND NO DEADLINE HAS BEEN SET IN THIS RESPECT. HE REMARKED THAT PRESIDENT MARCOS CLEARLY WANTS CERTAIN THINGS BUT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MEET ALL OF HIS DEMANDS. FOR OUR PART WE FIND OUR PHILIPPINE BASES REMAIN USEFUL. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT AS AN ASEAN COUNTRY, THE PHILIPPINES PRESUMABLY SHARES SUCH CONCERNS AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAD PREVIOUSLY REFERRED TO. IF THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT SEE OUR BASES AS ENABLING THE U.S. TO REMAIN A STRONG PACIFIC POWER AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO SECURITY OF THE REGION, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD REMAIN THERE. BUT, THE SECRETARY CONCLUDED, WE BELIEVE THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT DOES SEE OUR BASES AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

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9. IN CONCLUSION, THE PRIME MINISTER AGAIN THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR THE DETAILED BRIEFING HE HAD GIVEN HIM AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT HE APPRECIATED THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT AND TO OBTAIN THEIR REACTIONS AND ADVICE.

10. EMBASSY LEAVES DISTRIBUTION THIS MESSAGE TO ADDRESSEES. MANSFIELD UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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